A Letter from EDINBURGH, *Concerning the difference of the Proceedings of the well-affected in* Scotland, *from the proceedings of the Army in* England.

17.

Dated the 19. of January 1649.

SIR,

I Am much troubled and amazed at that which you relate concerning the late proceedings of your *Engliſh* Army; but moſt of all at the pretences which are uſed to colour the ſame, which are, That they follow the example which hath been given them here in *Scotland*, and that they act the Reſolutions which our Marqueſſe of *Arguile* & your *Lieutenant-Generall* did conclude at their laſt meeting. Which are things ſo far diſſonant not only from truth, but from all likelyhood, that I dare confidently ſay, nothing could have been deviſed either more falſly, or with leſſe appearance. As for the Marqueſſe, I dare pawn all that I am worth in this world, that our Noble and faithfull Marqueſſe who hath ſo freely & often hazarded himſelf & al that he hath for the true intereſt of *Scotland*, in maintaining the Nationall Covenant, did never agree to any of thoſe undertakings (you mention your Army ſet upon) which are moſt directly oppoſite to all the purpoſes and intents of our Covenant. For in ſtead of the Reformation and ſettlement of Religion, it is evident that your men intend to ſettle nothing, but rather to unſettle all both in Church and State, by an univerſall Toleration of all Religions: In ſtead of maintaining the Priviledges of Parliament, as the ſupreme Judicature of your Kingdom, they break it in pieces, and ſetling themſelves as Judges over it, over the King and over the whole Kingdom, they effectively undertake to diſſolve it: In ſtead of defending the King and his Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, they ſet themſelves to deſtroy him and his Race, and will have an elective King or none at all. Thus the three firſt Articles of the Covenant are utterly made void. In ſtead of bringing evil inſtruments, that hinder the Reformation of Religion, & divide between the King and his people, to condigne puniſhment; their whole way is to overturn that which is ſetled in the Reformation of Religion, & to make a Faction dividing the King from his people: which is againſt the 4: & 5. Articles. Nor can they, by the principles which they follow, be faithfull to the 6. Article thereof, which is to de-

end and assist the Covenanters, but they rather will become the chief prosecutors of the same. Now I am sure that neither my Lord of *Argyle* nor any of those that manage the publique affairs here at this time, would ever give way to any designs from which such breaches of Covenant might ensue: nay our zeal and sincerity for the Covenant and for the settlement of all things according to it, will be found such, That whatever the Kings concessions may be to you or us, upon the ratification of a Peace, nothing will be satisfactory except the whole matter of the Covenant be approved, and the taking thereof be confirmed and enjoyned by Law, not being left Arbitrary or to come in under an Act of Oblivion; and except also Episcopacy be utterly extirpated root and branch for ever, whereupon you seem not to stand much at this present. These things are so unalterably determined in our Counsels, and such fundamental grounds amongst us, that it is not possible that those Advices by which your men are acted, can have had either their beginning, or ever will have their approbation from us, or from any that are faithful to us, such as we know the Marquess of *Argile* to be.

As for the other pretence, That this undertaking of your Army is done by our example in these our last troubles: It is a most notorious falshood, and a most injurious calumny against us. For w^ch^ cause I think my self bound to let you see the contrary, & how far our actions differ from that w^ch^ is related of your Army

Be pleased therefore to take notice, that in all our late proceedings, the party wel-affected to the Covenant, who were dis-affected to the Engagement, never made any violent or tumultuous opposition against the Counsels of the Parliament; but whiles matters were in deliberation, the greatest part of the people of this Kingdom petitioned only against the designs of the major part of Parliament, which did pursue an Engagement against *England*, contrary to the Covenant & Treaties: And when the thing was brought to a result, the wel-affected Members of Parliament dissented & protested (according to the practise of this Kingdom) against the Engagement. Nor did the wel-affected here make ever any opposition to the Parliament it self (whose Authority is sacred and supream amongst us) whiles they carried on matters which they had resolved. Nor was there any opposition made to the counsels of the Committee of Estates nor ever any wrong offered to them in their persons; but all the opposition which was made, was afterward made against a few persons of the Committee of Estates, whose illegal proceedings and actual oppression being intolerable, they were resisted not only in a way justifiable by the necessity of natural defence, but even conformable to the Law of the Land.

Concerning the Persons which the Parliament nominated to be a Committee of Estates, they were above an hundred; but when the Parl. was ended, nine of those alone were packt to make a *Quorum*, which could meet at all occasions, and did over-rule the whole Kingdom most illegally and tyrannically.

First,

Firſt, their illegall proceedings were ſuch, That contrary to all Law they took upon them to impede the execution of Acts of Parliament; a power never given unto them, nor that could be committed unto any, (For how can it be ſuppoſed that ever any Parliament would, or lawfully could give to Deputies a power to alter or ſuſpend the Laws of the Kingdom and ſtanding Acts of Parliament?) They cauſed divers Subjects to take the Oath *ex Officio*, A thing wholly contrary to the Laws of this Kingdom. They gave Order to denounce the Marqueſs of *Argyle* Rebel before any charge given in againſt him, and other things of this nature were done by them to others whom they did proceſs for Treaſon, upon a general accuſation, without ſetting down the particulars, and without producing any accuſers, which even the abetters of their own Councellors were aſhamed of.

Secondly, Their actual oppreſſions were ſuch, that they cauſed Souldiers to quarter upon the wel-affected, with ſo much cruelty, as that in the ſpace of 14. days they exacted in ſome places to the value of ſeven years Rent; by which means ſome families were diſſolved and ruined, yea they killed women that reſiſted their inſolent and unruly carriages, and offered violence to Miniſters preaching in the Pulpit, interrupting Divine-Worſhip. All which was done without any hope of redreſs, when petitioned againſt; yet this was indured with much patience a long while, till all hope of redreſs was loſt; and till that packt *Quorum* begun to raiſe new Forces, whereby to oppreſs this Kingdom, and re-inforce their wicked Engagement againſt *England*. For although they pretended in their Declaration to the Kingdom, that their going into *England* was in purſuance of the ends of the Covenant, to preſerve Religion and keep the Union between the Kingdoms, yet they gave then Commiſſions to ſuch as had been eminently active in the Rebellion, under the conduct of the late E. of *Montroſe*, which was not only contrary to expreſs Acts of Parliament, but a deſign utterly deſtructive to all the wel-affected of this Kingdom, by the arming of their deadly enemies againſt them; whereupon they were conſtrained to look unto themſelves, and ſtand upon their lawfull defence.

Thus I have briefly opened, what the high tyrannie, oppreſſion and uſurpation of power, was in a few men of this Kingdom, above and againſt all laws civill and natural which neceſſitated the honeſt Party to betake themſelves unto the juſt ways of defence which the Laws of this Land allow, and the naturall rights of all men do provide for them in ſuch caſes, which how they made uſe of, and how the bleſſing of God hath been upon them in their legall proceedings, I ſhall now adde, that as by what I have ſaid, you may ſee the difference of Authority and Government, which is between your Parliament and our nine Committee-men. So by what I ſhall ſay, you may alſo ſee the way of acting, which our wel-affected Party here did take, and how far it differs from the way wherein your Army hath ſet it ſelf to walk. To this effect you muſt know, that the ſtanding Laws of this Kingdom lately confirmed, when the King was laſt with us in Parliament, have provided a remedy for publick grievances, when they are come to the extremity, and otherwiſe fail; which is this, *that the Subjects of this Kingdom may meet together in caſes of eminent danger, for the Preſervation of their Religion, Laws and Liberties, and the Publique good of the Kirk and State.* Theſe are the words

of the Law. Therefore when matters were brought to this paſſe that I have told, when many of the Committee of Eſtates were Priſoners in *England*, and ſome that were at home did abuſe their power, to the deſtruction of this Kingdom, and the diſturbance of the peace and union between the two Kingdoms: the queſtion was moved, whether or no the wel-affected ought not to meet to provide for the ſafety of the Kingdom, of their Laws and Liberties, ſeeing not only the Law did allow them ſo to do in ſuch like caſes of danger, but beſides naturall right, the Nationall Covenant did binde them expreſly to aſſiſt each other, in maintaining and promoting the ends of their Covenant againſt all lets and impediments whatſoever; the anſwer to this queſtion being clear and eaſie, and the practiſe of meeting in ſuch occaſions being ordinary in former times, beſides thoſe of the Nobility, who had proteſted in Parliament againſt the Engagement; the Commiſſioners of divers Shires and Burroughs did meet alſo as formerly they had done in the like diſtreſſe in the year 1637. and 38. and 39. Theſe Noblemen and Commiſsioners being thus met, and accompanied with a conſiderable number of the Gentry and Yeomandry, went towards *Edinburgh*, the place unto which the Lord Chancellour and others of the Committee of Eſtates were ſummoned to meet by a *Quorum* of the Committee that were for the Engagement. Theſe Lords and Commiſſioners therefore went as by the Law they were allowed, and by their Shires and Burroughs they were directed for redreſſe of their Grievances. The Gentry and Yeomandry went as by their Covenant they were bound to protect and defend with all their might their Commiſsioners in purſuance of the ends of the Covenaut, in caſe they ſhould be aſſaulted or wronged by thoſe who were in armes againſt them. And the Noblemen went in obedience to a Summons from the Committee of Eſtates, whereof themſelves were the principall Members; when theſe came to *Edinburgh* at the day appointed, the packt *Quorum* being conſcious of their own guilt, durſt not ſtay for them, but ſpeedily removed themſelves out of the way, keeping neither day nor place which themſelves had appointed; yet this was no prejudice to the Authority reſiding in the Committee of Eſtates appointed by Parliament, as if thereby it were diſſolved, becauſe in this Realm the power of acting as a Committee doth not at any time depend upon the preciſe keeping of appointments, but only upon the full number of the *Quorum*, nor at this time was there any wanting of the number to make a *Quorum*, although thoſe that had abuſed their power were retired. And becauſe the Lord Chancellour (who by vertue of his place may at any time call the Committee of Eſtates) did call a *Quorum* of the Committee, by which all the publique buſineſſes have been ſince managed, no Authority was diſſolved; In all this it is moſt evident, that the wel-affected party in this Kingdom did nothing preſumptuouſly, but every thing regularly and juſtly; having for every ſtep of their proceeding, not onely the warrant of a Law, but the allowed practiſes of former times to lead them: Nor did they any Act of violence unto the Members of the Committee of Eſtates, although they had been violently aſſaulted and oppreſſed, they onely defended themſelves againſt thoſe that were in Armes againſt them; They came together to conſult and redreſſe matters out of courſe, that the Kingdom might be preſerved from ruine, and they made uſe of their power to none other end, but to purſue and maintain their Covenant with

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England in avoiding a war with it, by cauſing the forces raiſed againſt it, to be disbanded, and the Garriſons detained from it to be reſtored, and for the ſettlement of the Councell of State, without all appearance of uſurpation. And leaſt thoſe who did retire from *Edinburgh*, (where now the Committee ſits,) ſhould think themſelves, or be lookt upon by others, as excluded and deprived by meer force from the right which the Parliament gave them to ſit in the Committee of Eſtates, therefore a friendly Treaty was entertained with them; at which upon conſideration of preventing a War with *England* (which otherwiſe ſeemed unavoidable,) they were rationally induced and conſiderately declared themſelves content to forbear the uſe of their right of comming to the Committee of Eſtates, and the exerciſe of all publick truſt, and to leave the managing of the publique affairs to ſuch of the Committee, as had not been acceſſory to the Engagement; And to refer all differences to a Parliament, to be called betwixt that and the 10. of *Jannary*, according to the power granted to the Committee of Eſtates by the Parliament, to call a Parliament when ever they ſhould think fit. By which tranſaction you ſee that the juſt Authority of Government is not onely regularly but voluntarily devolved upon thoſe that now mannage it, and Providenee did ſo order it, that this tranſaction fell out neer about the time when the Commiſsioners of Parliament, were to be choſen and changed of courſe, according to the Laws and conſtant Practiſe of this Kingdom, which is every year at *Michaelmas*, whether there be a Parliament to ſit or not.

Here then you ſee what that proceeding is, upon which the pretence of an example to be taken from us is grounded, and what appearance there is of any ſuch ground; here all the Practiſes of our wel-affected party are neceſſary and commendable in all circumſtances, and moſt warrantable by all the Laws of God and man in this Land, as well Naturall as Civill and Eccleſiaſticall; here all particular grievances are referred by all ſides to be determined by a free Parliament, here all the fundamental Laws are entirely preſerved, here every thing hath been carried openly and profeſſedly from the beginning to the end above-board, without any ſubtile undermining practiſes, and here the leaſt offer is not made by any for the faults of ſome to change and alter the frame of Government in the whole.

By all which if you conſider matters ingeniouſly, I ſuppoſe you will ſay that nothing will be found in your caſe, parallel unto ours, almoſt in any circumſtance. For if matters are carried amongſt you, as you intimate, and others inform us, and as by ſome Papers may be conjectured, they are or will be ſhortly; I dare ſadly prognoſticate your fate, that you will have the moſt diſorderly and confuſed State, that is this day in the world; your condition will be worſe then ours; for though we were ſadly oppreſſed and wickedly involved into an unjuſt Engagement againſt *England* to our own confuſion, yet the authors of our ruine were thoſe that had ſome ſtamp of authority lawfully conferred upon them, & there were Laws known & ways practiſeable, and Inſtruments in a readineſſe to redreſſe their exorbitancies; but if you fall under the power of thoſe that are ſo far from having right to authority that they can have no true ſtamp but that of ſervants, woe be unto you; the men that did diſ-

order us, were yet men of ſome ſenſe and reaſon, although they did drive their deſignes to the utmoſt furiouſly; but no furie is like that of a combined unreaſonable multitude, whoſe intereſt is to have no rule ſtanding; what your laws are to finde a redreſſe, or what wayes you may have practiſeable, & what Inſtruments to follow them for your good, I am not capable to judge; but this I may gueſſe, that the Leaders of your Army, and their Agitators that lie under deck, having gone ſo far, will not ceaſe, and in all likelyhood will reſolve to ſtick at nothing that may ſtand in their way of racing the preſent foundations that they may ſtand alone. The old Maxime of *Cæſar* is a ſad one. *Si violandum eſt jus, Regnandi cauſa violandum eſt, in cæteris Pietatem colito,* When men have not the fear of God before their eyes it is natural for them to deifie themſelves, and whatever they imagine then ſubordinate to that end which they have ſet up to themſelves and for themſelves, as beſt and ſupream, they think that only good and lawful, and every thing elſe abominable; upon this ground they will eaſily diſpenſe with themſelves and their conſciences, to do evil that good may come of it. And becauſe the good which they ſeem to aim at, is a Libertine (not properly Government, but) correſpondency and equality that they will ſacrifice, (if they be true to their Principles,) all matters of Rule and Order, both divine and humane, and all obligations and engagements, both naturall, morall and conſcionable unto this Idol; And in ſo doing they will think themſelves not only juſtifyable but glorious; And becauſe the way of power is only left unto them, to compaſs their glorious deſignes, they will think all lawful, what can be done that way, and the more glory due to themſelves, the more they can cruſh others; but I pray God theſe Predictions may never prove true in thoſe men, whom you know I have truly counted worthy of eſteem, and for whoſe miſcarriages I ſhould be much afflicted in many reſpects, partly for their great and many good parts, partly for their deſerts in a good cauſe, and the honour they have merited hitherto of all the wel-affected thereunto, and particularly of us here of late in *Scotland*, which I would not have them ſtain with any diſorderlineſſe: partly, and eſpecially, leſt their miſcarriages in this kinde give the greateſt wound unto Religion that can be given by any in this Age. This would grieve me to the heart. And when I think on what I begin to ſee and hear from you and others, and remember that they are men as others, I tremble at the preſages of my grief.

But theſe ſad and paſſionate conſiderations do make this Letter too big, and have made me almoſt forget the Parallel which I was about to make, or rather to leave unto you to make, if any ſuch thing can be found between the late proceedings of our Worthies here, and the preſent undertakings of your Army there.

For whether you conſider the perſons that are Actors in the buſineſſe on both ſides, here and there; or the Actions which they uvdertake; or the way and manner of their proceeding therein; or the things which they profeſſedly aim at; or the means which they uſe to bring the ſame to paſſe: I am ſure there will be nothing found in our men that hath any reſemblance to yours, and conſequently nothing that can give them an example for what they do, or any ground in compariſon with us to alter your State.

The perſons who acted with authority our affairs here on the one ſide, were a *Quo-*

rum of nine Committee-men; and thoſe that have right to authority among you, are none but the Parliament: And what difference there is between that great body of Repreſentatives, and our Nine men, judge ye. On the other ſide, here the Actors were the Peers and Noblemen of the Kingdom, joyned with the Commiſſioners of Shires and Burghs, whom the Covenanters protected from danger, as they were bound to do; And the Actors on the other ſide with you, are the Officers and Souldiers of your Army. Now what difference there is in the right of the one and the other to act in caſes of publick grievance againſt thoſe that are in Authority, judge ye by what I have formerly ſaid concerning our Laws, and by this, That no Souldiers or Army in the world can have any right or lawfull calling before God or the world, either to be together, or to act in any thing otherwiſe then as they are the Servants of thoſe that have choſen them to be an Army, which is with you the Parliament. Our Noblemen, Commiſſioners, and Covenanters acted defenſively according to Law, for the redreſs of diſorders ruinous to the State: but your Army is in a way of acting offenſively without Law and againſt truſt, which is a ruinous diſorder to the State.

The undertaking of our Nine men, was the purſuit of an Engagement oppoſite to the Covenant and Treaties with *England*, oppreſſive to all the faithfull in the Land, and deſtructive to the peace of the Kingdom and union betwixt the Kingdoms: but the undertaking of your Parliament was the purſuit of peace by a Perſonall Treaty with the King which by his condiſcenſions was in ſome things brought towards a hopefull iſſue.

What the difference is between theſe two, judge ye; and thereupon conſider what reſemblance there is between the oppoſition which our Nobles and Commiſſioners made unto the proceedings of our *Quorum*, and the reſiſtance which your Army doth make againſt the Votes of their Maſters the Houſes of Parliament, tending to the ſettlement of Peace in the Kingdom. As for the manner of our mens proceedings, I have ſhewed you how patiently they eudured oppreſſion, how they never diſturbed the Parliaments Counſels, nor of the Committee of Eſtates, nor offered violence to their perſons, but by regular addreſſes ſought the redreſſes of grievances, and by a Treaty did obtain the ſame. Whether your Army hath ſuffered any oppreſsion from the Parliament, or have had any ill uſage from them, you know better then I that am a ſtranger; but I never heard of any: And what the way of their addreſſes are, I need not to expreſs; you can judge; and I will not conjecture what hereafter they may be.

The profeſſed aim of the wel-affected party here, is the ſame which it was formerly, To ſettle the Kingdom in the obſervance of the Covenant, of the Treaties with *England*, and of the known Laws and conſtitutions of Government. What the aim of your Army is, and how conſtant they are to the Propoſals which formerly they made, and where they will reſt, I ſhall leave it to you to judge, and to the event to ſhew.

The means which our men uſed to proſecute their aim, were a friendly Treaty to lay down Arms on all ſides, To ſettle and maintain the juſt Authority of Government, To right the wrong done to *England*, and to call a free Parliament. Now, what reſemblance the wayes of your men have with theſe, judge ye; And then tell

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ne where the pretended example is, and wherein the compariſon can be made betwe
that which we have done, and that which your men are doing: If it can be ſhewed
any circumſtance, or made imaginable to any rationall man, I ſhall acknowledge m
ignorance.

My admiration at a pretence ſo far out of purpoſe, and ſo injuriouſly reproach
full to our Cauſe, together with my zeal to vindicate the reputation of our ſince
rity by the Righteouſneſs of our proceedings, hath moved me to be thus large.

All the ground upon which we can challenge a right to be truſted and believed in
that which we do or ſay, that our meaning is upright and without deceit, can be
no other but the juſtifiableneſs of our carriage in our conſtant way, that it is orderly
in our Calling, and anſwerable to a known Rule. But if we keep no Rule, or caſt off a
reſpect unto that Rule which we are bound to acknowledge, and which we have ob
liged our ſelves to walk by; and if our enterprizes are diſproportionate to our Calling
and to the principles of our profeſſion in Chriſtianity; then we may juſtly be ſuſpected
to be deceivers, and not mean truly whatever we pretend.

Therefore he that is no where to be found conſtant in his pretences, nor in his Rules
known, can deſerve no truſt, nor can be rationally judged to be ſincere; becauſe he
will naturally ſhape his Rule according to his Pretences, and not his Pretences according
to that which is a true Rule. He that walks by a Rule, denies himſelf, and comes to the
light thereof, that he may be judged: But he that hath no Rule, but pretends only
now this, and then that, doth ſeek himſelf and is a deceiver, who ſhunneth the light
although he may pretend never ſo much New-light. It is a ſad thing to ſee men whom
in charity we could not but judge conſcionable, after great profeſſions and pretenſions
to the Spirit in the beginning, to fall flat and end wholly in the fleſh. The Lord keep us
from this temptation, and let him that ſtands take heed leſt he fall.

I can ſcarce break off from theſe troubleſome thoughts, but they are not ſo pleaſing
to me that I ſhould delight to lengthen them: Therefore I ſhall now reſt and bid
you Farewell, who am———

Edinb. 19 *Jan.*
1649.

Your friend to ſerve you,

I. S.

FINIS.